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Mexico City's Symbolic Geography: The Processions of Our Lady of Remedios

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Abstract
Among the festivals that shaped the urban experience of colonial Mexico City, those related with Our Lady of Remedios —the first patroness of the capital of New Spain— deserve special attention. This essay argues that the 57 occasions that the statue came from her shrine to the city (1577-1810) were massive social self-portraits of piety, loyalty, and policy: processions were organized for heavenly protection in times of drought, epidemics, or war, always showing the links this particular devotion had to the conquest, and thus, to the foundation of the city as a colonial entity.
Keywords: *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, processions, urban space, colonial Mexico City*

Resumen
Entre las muchas celebraciones públicas que definieron el espacio urbano de la ciudad de México durante el virreinato, las relacionadas con Nuestra Señora de los Remedios— primera patrona de la capital de la Nueva España—merecen atención especial. Este artículo propone que las 57 veces que la imagen fue traída desde su santuario a la ciudad (en el período de 1577 a 1810), pueden considerarse como autorretratos sociales en los que se mostraba, y definía, la devoción, la lealtad y la política: las procesiones se organizaban en tiempos de sequía, epidemia y guerra, y siempre mostraban los lazos que esta imagen mariana tenía con la conquista y por tanto, con la fundación de la ciudad ya como una entidad colonial.
Palabras clave: *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, procesiones, espacio urbano, ciudad de México colonial*

Para que pida al Padre el Remedio
de nuestras necesidades y aflicciones.
Para pedir esto se juntaron todos.
Friar Luis de Cisneros

Introduction

In the early modern world, and on both sides of the Atlantic, religious processions were vital for the construction of the symbolic geography of cities. While allowing a constant re-signification of urban space, they encouraged the mingling of different social sectors in much the same way as did secular ceremonials—such as the entrance of political and ecclesiastical authorities. However, the religious parades were also, and most importantly, liminal events that made the celestial sphere accessible to people's worldly existence. This paper aims to elucidate how this double nature, earthly

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and heavenly, was present in the many processions that made the sculpture of Our Lady of Remedios accessible to Mexico City's population during the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule (Figure 1).[1] Choosing this specific cult image as a case study is not arbitrary: Remedios was named first patroness of New Spain's capital in 1574, when the city council became the patron of her shrine and a confraternity was founded to better disseminate the cult. As a consequence, the statue was carried through Mexico City's streets fifty-seven times in three hundred years (an average of one time every five years), thus outnumbering any other religious event that was not part of the liturgical calendar. As I will show, these processions were always linked to the conquest as Our Lady of Remedios' shrine—located roughly seven miles northwest of the capital—was at the site where allegedly Hernán Cortés and his soldiers found some rest and remedy while fleeing Mexico City on the night of June 30, 1520 during the so-called *Noche Triste* battle.[2] Thus, in all these processions the urban landscape was re-signified by invoking the foundation of the city and thus, establishing identity. Henceforth, it is worth reassessing the sense of collectivity that characterized them.

Figure 1: Our Lady of Remedios during the 2011 procession at the shrine. (photo by author)

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This paper is structured in such a way that it follows the path of one such procession. It first considers the diverse political and religious motives that gave rise to such massive events around this particular cult image, thus addressing the *why* and the *when* of the festivals. Second, it describes the modes in which the parades took place, considering the route followed by the large gathering of people and the modes of display of the cult image—that is, the area that focuses on the *how* and the *where* of the processions. Since the order in which the corporations participated within the pageants was strictly regulated, the last section focuses on the actors who actually participated in them, but also considers those who organized and benefited from the festivities—spiritually, politically, and economic. By traversing the three sections, this paper is able to draw the conclusion that the concept of *policía*, as the locus of civilized and organized urban life, was the most important quality that the processions related to Our Lady of Remedios aimed to enhance. They were indeed "acts of self-representation" where the city presented itself as an ideal society (Thøfner, 2007: 14).

Grounds for the Occasion

In Mexico City, religious processions were an almost everyday activity. These numerous processions were rooted, of course, in the spirit of the Council of Trent, which saw in these urban festivals a highly effective way to consolidate the Catholic faith. Many of these festivals repeated throughout the year, like Easter and Christmas, as part of a strict liturgical calendar; others were sporadic, like the canonization of saints. Perhaps the most important procession within the year was that of *Corpus Christi*, a celebration that developed at the end of the thirteenth century as a main defense of the dogma of the divine incarnation in Jesus (Walters, 2006). Sigaut has pointed out that from the very first time this procession took place within the streets of the capital of New Spain in 1526—just five years after the defeat of Mexico-Tenochtitlan—it became a symbolic rampart to the city, as it followed its physical outline at a time when the urban limits were not clear, and therefore, the safety of the Spanish population was still of great concern (Sigaut, 2001: 37).

The processions celebrated to invoke the intercession of Our Lady of Remedios were the most important festivals not attached to a specific date within the liturgical calendar: they were petitionary events connected to external conditions that affected daily life in the city. The most important of these reasons that motivated the processions was drought. It is worth noting, contrary to the widespread belief in scholarly literature, that drought, and not flooding, was in fact the most common problem afflicting the local population.[3] Of course, there were times when the abundance of water was indeed an intense problem, as in the great inundation of 1629 (Boyer, 1975). However, the work by Malvido on epidemics and their causes in colonial times (Malvido, 1980: 171-176), in combination with the detailed account of the motives of all the processions outlined in Table 1 (collating the data provided by twelve scholars—see Appendix), show that droughts were a more frequent occurrence and were more lethal than has been previously acknowledged. New Spain's capital suffered from the scarcity of water irregularly, but in recurring ways. The most dramatic outcome of drought was the reduced production of maize—the main source of food for the city's inhabitants. For Gibson, drought, as well as frost, were key in determining the yields of the agricultural year in the city:

> A single day without rain was of little importance, but a single day of frost might be ruinous... [A] dry April was a fearsome phenomenon, and a drought continuing into May and June became progressively more alarming,

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> for such conditions seemed to portend a serious interruption in the seasonal processes on which maize and life depended (Gibson, 1964: 313).

Drought and food shortages were also strongly related to the outbreak of epidemics that mostly affected the indigenous population. Forty-three out of the total of fifty-seven times that the image was brought to Mexico City in the period 1575-1810, the processions took place because of drought, disease, and/or famine. It is, therefore, not surprising that the processions would take place during the normal rainy season, that is, from May to August, but mainly during June. Thus, Our Lady of Remedios became the patroness against drought, famine, and disease, calamities that almost always afflicted the city simultaneously. This "specialization" of Remedios as provider of rainwater derives from late Medieval European traditions. Perhaps the most famous Marian image that served as an advocate for rainfall as early as 1354, is Our Lady of Impruneta, whose shrine is located six miles from Florence (Trexler, 1989). In Spain, too, Mary was sought for the same purpose. According to Christian Jr., in Castile, by 1575-80, "in the case of droughts, the most common attempt to alleviate a disaster would be a petitionary procession... called a *rogativa*" (Christian, 1981: 63).[4] In the Americas, the patroness of Ecuador, *Nuestra Señora del Cisne*, stands out as another miraculous image associated with droughts. According to the legend associated with this miraculous image, a strong cult developed around it in 1550, when it is believed that she put an end to a severe period of water shortage.[5] It is worth pointing out that similarly to Our Lady of Remedios, Our Lady of Impruneta and Nuestra Señora del Cisne also traveled into their neighboring cities—Florence and Loja, respectively—as opposed to other cult images that mostly welcomed pilgrims at their shrines for similar *rogativas*, not leaving their shrines on any regular basis.[6]

As early as 1639 petitions for the wellbeing of the monarchy started to be included in the list of favors implored from Remedios. This was also a common practice in Spain: "Philip II and his successors solicited the prayers of cathedral chapters (of Toledo and elsewhere) at critical moments in national affairs—when members of the royal family were sick, traveling by sea, or in childbirth; at the start of military campaigns; or before major battles" (Christian, 1981: 151). In New Spain, Remedios' intercession on behalf of the crown was sought for similar reasons. The statue was called into the city whenever divine protection to the ruling house was needed—in January, February, September, or November. Remedios was called for the safety of the fleet,[7] as shield in wartime, or for specific events such as a prince's birth or a viceroy's illness. According to García Olivera and Curcio-Nagy, such an expansion of specific themes related to the monarchy during the eighteenth century implied an appropriation of the cult of Our Lady of Remedios by the Spanish Crown to the detriment of the city council, who had assumed the official stewardship of the image, the shrine, and the cult beginning in 1574 (García Olivera, 1991; Curcio-Nagy, 1996).[8] From their perspective, during the last century of colonial rule the viceroys' involvement in determining both the times and the length of Remedios sojourns increased. However, as far I have been able to determine, the direct participation of the viceroys in promoting the processions was constant all the way from the sixteenth century and did not increase in the eighteenth.[9] It is worth remembering that even if the city council assumed the care of the shrine and therefore of the miraculous image, the viceroy, as the King's *alter ego*, was the only authority allowed to intervene in matters related to the cult's management. This hierarchy was established by Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa at the time of the patronage's establishment in 1574, and was confirmed by a royal decree of August 31, 1684.[10]

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That is why, in most cases, the processions were organized only after the city council welcomed the request of the viceroy to bring the statue into Mexico City, and it had to ask his permission to return it to its shrine after the nine days of mass prayer at the Cathedral.[11] In short, the council enjoyed the custody of the image, but from the moment of the concession of the *patronazgo*, their authority was somewhat relative as it never outshone that of the viceroy.[12] Our Lady of Remedios, as a sculpture of Spanish manufacture that was believed to play a significant role as *socia beli* by aiding the conquistadors,[13] was considered from the very beginning of her cult, a sacred object that was lent to the city as a symbol of its foundation and power. It was certainly not a holy item that could change ownership during the colonial period due to the political context.[14] Moreover, a close examination of Table I reveals that the percentage of processions associated with the monarchy did not actually increase during the eighteenth century: in the seventeenth century four of thirteen pageants were organized in the name of the Crown (31.25 percent), and in the eighteenth century there were ten out of thirty-three (30.3 percent). In the first decade of the nineteenth century, this proportion was maintained, with three of a total of nine processions being connected with the monarchy (33.3 percent).

Still, the numerous processions organized in the eighteenth century demand an explanation. As Taylor has rightly pointed out in his recent groundbreaking study on colonial miraculous images, an important reason that needs to be considered is the War of the Spanish Succession and the subsequent crisis of legitimacy of the ruling Bourbon dynasty (Taylor, 2010: 151). During the years of conflict, 1701-1714, the statue was brought only three times, but its second visit lasted four years, marking this the first time that it was kept for such a long period.[15] Viceroy Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, eighth duke of Albuquerque, assumed the responsibility for the long sojourn, explicitly mentioning his interest in contributing to the cause of the Bourbons.[16] Not surprisingly, one of the main events celebrated during this long stay was the birth of Prince Louis, heir to the crown, as it warranted the continuation of the newly and controversial French ruling house (Pulgar, 1708). The longest sojourn of the statue in Mexico City, from 1741 to 1750, was also related to warfare: the War of the Austrian Succession that reestablished Spanish influence in northern Italy and intensified the maritime conflicts with England. The last time that Remedios stayed in Mexico City longer than the conventional *novenario* was in 1762, returning a year later to the shrine and thus, coinciding with the end of the Seven Years War. Therefore, Remedios' constant presence in the capital of the viceroyalty of New Spain during the last century of Spanish dominion was due to her character of *socia beli*, or partner at war, demanding her protection in times of military conflict. Another factor underscoring her frequent visits to Mexico City at this time is related to the Bourbons' emphasis on securing the extensive revenues that came from New Spain, which explain its concern with the protection of the fleet. These Bourbon efforts started to be noticeable even from the first decades of the eighteenth century—long before the larger reforms that characterized the second half of this century (Pérez Herrero. 1996: 81; Lynch, 1989:128-141). However, after 1750 the statue was brought to the city almost every two years, to ask for her intercession at times of drought and famine, as had occurred in the previous century. This is not surprising when considering that historians like Coatsworth, Taylor, and Van Yung, among others, have noted that this period was characterized by a severe agricultural crisis (Taylor, 1999 [1996]: 36). It is worth pointing out that the image's visits did not diminish even after an important pause of twelve years (1772-1784), which was most likely related to the severe constrictions imposed to popular religious practices by the fourth Mexican provincial synod (Cervantes Bello and Cano Moreno, 2005; Escamilla, 2005).[17]

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However important Remedios processions were in the devotional life of Mexico City, there is still no clear consensus as to exactly how many times the cult image was brought in procession to the capital of New Spain. After comparing the work of twelve colonial and contemporary authors and exhaustively contrasting their data with information included both in the city council accounts and in the remaining financial documents of the confraternity of Our Lady of Remedios,[18] I have created what I consider the most accurate list of dates and motives of such petitionary travels (Table 1). Through this research I have been able not only to discuss the number of times the image came into the city during the eighteenth century, but also to determine the year in which the first procession of Our Lady of Remedios took place. Although all sources consulted note that this event was organized in the context of the third massive epidemic that killed a significant number of Indians, I was unable to find any information in the city council records about when exactly it occurred. There is only a brief note of January 1577 in which one of the *regidores* or city officials, is asked about the alms collected during the statue's visit (AHDF, Vol. 637a). It is therefore possible that the procession took place at the end of the previous year, in 1576, as documented by the *Gacetas de México* years later.[19] However, 1577 is the year provided by Mercedarian friar Luis de Cisneros, author of the first chronicle narrating the story of this miraculous image, which is why all subsequent chroniclers have considered this year as her first visit (Cisneros, 1999 [1621]). It is surprising that, if the epidemic was as terrible as he indicated—it battered the indigenous population for more than a year, to the point that it was impossible to bury all the bodies because thousands of people were dying each day—and the procession was as impressive as the paintings made in 1595 at the shrine walls documented,[20] the city authorities would not carefully document this episode in a more extensive manner, as they did all the other occasions when the image travelled into the city in subsequent years. Despite the confusion regarding the exact moment of this first Remedios procession, it was certainly not a futile event. Spanish poet Hernán de Eslava's *Coloquio Catorce*, which includes references to Our Lady of Remedios as the only "remedy" people could turn to in such terrible period of illness, might be the best contemporary evidence of how closely connected the devotion was to the epidemic outbreaks (González de Eslava, 1998 [1610]).[21] Since this first procession seems to have taken place less than two years after the city council took charge of both the shrine and the cult to Remedios, it is very likely that at that moment the cult had yet to take root within the urban population of Mexico City, composed of Spanish, Creoles, Africans, and Indians. The legend that validated the cult and connected it to the capital's origins took many years to be definitively established: the silence in the city council's records constitutes a strong form of evidence of such a complex process (García and Granados, 2008).

The Path's Ritual

There are no remaining visual representations, neither painted nor printed, that allow us to know how any of Our Lady of Remedios' numerous processions took place. However, there is a detailed description by friar Luis de Cisneros included in his chronicle about the 1616 procession, the one believed to be the model for all the later ones.[22] This source and the descriptions written in verse published in the second half of the seventeenth century to celebrate the festivals are valuable eyewitness accounts that along with many confraternity administrative documents from the eighteenth century allow a reconstruction of the modes in which these urban ceremonials developed (Carrillo, 1678; Ena, 1668; Jesús, 1668; Muñoz de Castro, 1685; Ribera, 1663 and 1678;

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Terán, 1653).[23] These materials, therefore, provide understanding of both the aesthetic features and symbolic underpinnings of such processions.

The protocol for the processions began with the request of the viceroy to the city council to bring forth the statue of Our Lady of Remedios. At the moment when the image was picked up from the shrine, an oath was taken promising to return the statue once the *novena* at the Cathedral was over. This practice was to acknowledge the city council's stewardship over the shrine and to recognize the devotional importance of keeping the image in its "home." The archbishop or his delegates from the ecclesiastical chapter were the ones who typically took the pledge, having some members of the city's *cabildo* as principal witnesses. Although this was an important part of the processions' procedure, there were many times during the eighteenth century, as mentioned earlier, in which this promise was not fulfilled and the image stayed longer than was agreed upon.

Once the oath was taken, the procession started. Cisneros described how, on June 11, 1616, a huge crowd of more than 20,000 followed the statue, which was positioned in a silver tabernacle placed above a litter (*andas*) decorated with golden cloths and supported by priests.[24] A canopy held by Indian authorities from around the surroundings areas of the shrine covered the image, which emphasized its presence as a sign of divine power: such canopy, or *palio*, could only be used over sacred images or the King and his "living image", the viceroy.[25] The indigenous principals used to take turns in order to share the honor of covering the statue, thus conveying the relevance of the native population as supporters of the cult.[26] Cisneros did not describe who the priests carrying the processional platform were on this occasion, but it is known that this privilege was granted, from 1653 up to 1673, to the discalced branch of Franciscan friars from the San Diego convent (Florencia, 1745 [1685]: 85 and 88). From that year on, instead of carrying the statue, it became common practice that the statue would leave the shrine in a carriage, sometimes even the viceroy's (Carrillo, 1678). In 1616 the procession left the shrine around 7 a.m., making its first stop at the Franciscan convent of Tacuba at 11 a.m. Although the stop had the practical purpose of avoiding the hours of extreme heat (Ribera, 1663), it also served as deference to the Franciscan convent under whose jurisdiction the shrine would have fallen if the city had not taken charge of it.[27] This stop, however, did not always take place, especially after transporting the statue in a carriage was privileged.

After visiting the Franciscan convent or passing by it, the statue followed the old causeway that had connected the town of Tacuba with Mexico City since pre-Columbian times. Significantly, Remedios, the miraculous image that was believed to bring rain to the capital proceeded along the last third of the Santa Fé aqueduct, one of the oldest structures that supplied water to the city (Pineda Mendoza, 2000: 91).[28] Thus, both the real and the symbolic sources of water arrived along the same road. Remedios also passed by different relevant churches, including most notably San Diego's convent and San Hipólito's hospital. This route was not only the most practical for connecting these two sites, but also one with strong symbolic underpinnings: according to the legend, it was on Tacuba Avenue (when it was still a canal accessing the city), that the Virgin Mary first appeared in the Americas as Our Lady of Remedios, casting dirt into the eyes of the Mexica.[29] Through this miraculous intervention in June 30, 1520, Remedios protected the Spanish army that was trying to flee Tenochtitlan, leaving the Mexica army behind during the so-called battle of *Noche Triste*. The avenue was indeed so important as remembrance of the military events of that night, that in colonial times—and even today—a section of the avenue was called *Puente de Alvarado*, in reference to the last Spanish captain, Pedro de Alvarado, that crossed the bridge and thus was able to avoid being killed by the Mexica (González Obregón, 2003 [1922]: 5-8). While it cannot be argued that the procession's

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path was a symbolic reenacting of the Virgin's first apparition in any strict sense, it is plausible, however, to link the route with the conquest because the pageant, just before its triumphal entry to the city, used to stop at the Santa Veracruz parish church, which was strongly linked to Hernán Cortés who, in 1526, founded at that site the first confraternity for Spanish conquistadors.[30] The role of Remedios as conqueror of the city and the Mexica army was part of the collective memory, and one of the several reasons that were emphasized when the city took over the patronage of the shrine in 1574.[31] Not surprisingly, Remedios' role as the *conquistadora* was celebrated by Alonso de Villasana in his 1595 mural paintings at the shrine acknowledged by Cisneros and Florencia in their 1621 and 1685 chronicles, and addressed in Ena's verses in celebration of Remedios' tenth visit to Mexico City. In 1721 Remedios' image was walked alongside that of Saint Hippolytus, first patron of the conquest,[32] in the commemorations of the bicentenary of the Spanish victory over the Mexica, joining the path of the yearly processions where the Royal Banner was displayed as symbol of the new authority (AHDF, Vol. 375a). During the late eighteenth century, and perhaps even before, the connection with the conquest was also animated by a statue of Saint James that was used to open the processions.[33] By 1809 she was again called *conquistadora* (AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 65), which proves that despite some colonial authors' complaints that Remedios had been forgotten,[34] she was always connected with the conquest, and thus with the foundation of the city as a colonial entity.[35] This character of Remedios as *socia beli* was still definitely recalled when in 1808, in the context of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, the nuns of the convent of San Jerónimo adorned the statue with military regalia, and her appellative changed to "La Generala" or commander in chief (Taylor, 2010: 151).[36]

The stop at the parish church of Santa Veracruz was the most important in the procession. On the many occasions when the statue arrived by carriage, it was at this site located at the city's fringes that the walking portion of the procession started, and the city council and many other religious and secular authorities officially welcomed the cult image. From this point on, the pageants were organized following a strict order, according to the hierarchy of the groups involved, as I will describe in the last section of this essay. It was also at the Santa Veracruz parish church where the music of trumpets, *chirimías*,[37] and flutes usually became louder, as if they were to compete with the bells of convents and nunneries that were being loudly tolled for the occasion. As Cisneros wrote in reference to the 1616 procession, the combination of these wind instruments along with fireworks and artillery salutes, was supposed to move the senses and the spirit to deep devotion (Cisneros, 1999 [1621]: 167). The spectacle must have indeed captivated all the senses, considering that it was also enhanced by the smell of incense and flowers that the Indians at the front of the procession used to burn and cast about. The odor of gunpowder and of burning candle wax was also present in all the festivities, making the sensory experience of smell all the more salient. However, the element that Cisneros emphasized the most was the light from candles and torches emanating from all houses: by the time the procession reached the main plaza of the city at 8 p.m. in June of 1616, the light produced was so intense that the cathedral gleamed in contrast to the darkness of night. This effect was certainly repeated in many subsequent processions, as there is evidence that the aldermen used to invite the inhabitants to light torches and decorate the doors and windows of their houses with lavish cloths, mainly damask and velvet.[38] Along the procession path, there were more music ensembles joining the spectacle, placed underneath the ephemeral arches and *enramadas* or flower-strung thatch made by the Indians, which helped transform the city into a truly numinous space.[39]

The route that the Remedios' processions followed starting from the church linked to the conquistadors and into the city, was actually very simple (Figure 2): passing

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by the Mariscala fountain that ended the Santa Fé aqueduct on the Tacuba causeway,[40] the processions entered the city's grid from the west. In the first years of the seventeenth century the path continued on this street up to the Santa Clara convent, but by the early eighteenth century it became common practice to turn south before, at the street of *Santa Isabel*.[41] By the end of the colonial period, however, the turn was made further east, at the street of *San José El Real*—passing in front of the former Casa Profesa of the Jesuits, who had been expelled from New Spain in 1767 (AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 66). Regardless of the exact point when the procession changed direction to the south, it arrived into the street of San Francisco, called Plateros in its last segment, where all the silversmiths had their workshops. Following this important street, the processions finally arrived at the cathedral—and the main plaza in front of it—through the side where the cemetery was located. It is worth keeping in mind that the processions most often arrived at a massive church that was still in the process of being built: in 1616, for instance, only the lateral chapel dedicated to Nuestra Señora de los Dolores was vaulted and the eastern portals were finished; the sacristy and most of the naves were still open (Noriega: 1960, 34-35). However, the display at the cathedral was always rich and expensive, as many candles and oil lamps were used to illuminate the holy guest. The expenses of each day of the nine that the statue of Remedios stayed in the city was sponsored by a different part of the viceregal government; in 1794, for instance, the most copious alms were given by the viceroy, the archbishop, the cathedral's chapter, the university, the Audiencia, the mint, the city council, the court of accounts, and the consulate of commerce (AHDF, Vol. 3915, exp. 348). The religious orders were in charge of singing the *Salve* during the afternoon daily ass, when they also delivered the daily sermon (Ribera, 1678; Muñoz, 1685).

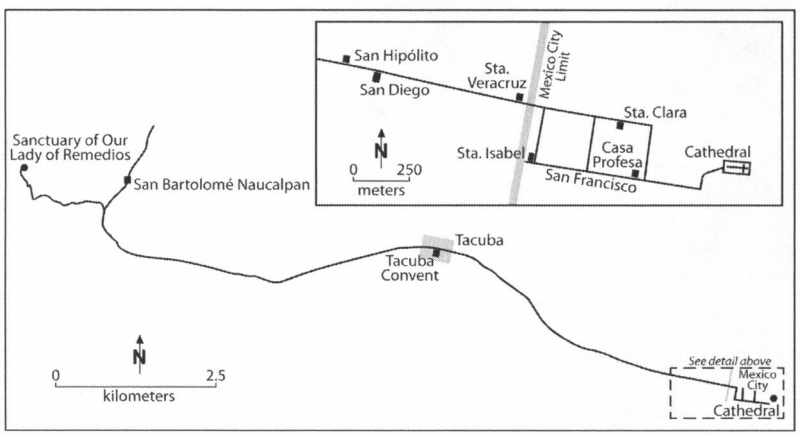

Figure 2. The path of Our Lady of Remedios

On its way back to the shrine, the statue of Remedios was usually taken again along the street of Tacuba, leaving the Cathedral through its western portal,[42] but this changed sometime in the late eighteenth century when it also went back through *San Francisco* Street, thus leaving from the temple's main entrance instead of one of its sides (Gómez, 1986 [1794]: 115). There are far fewer descriptions of Remedios' departures, as the event was mostly perceived as a moment of sadness in the city. There were eleven

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occasions when the returning of the image took place after protracted stays in the capital, which aggravated even further the feeling of despair. The only occasion in which the return was celebrated was in 1653, when the miraculous rainfall that was so long awaited arrived while the image was about to depart the city, near the convent of Santa Clara (Terán, 1653). Years earlier, Cisneros emphasized that the landscape on the way back to the shrine had changed completely due to the good weather brought by the virgin: the dry countryside had been transformed into a green and lush environment (Cisneros, 1999 [1621]: 194).

There were occasions during Our Lady of Remedios' sojourns in the city, that the sculpture was processed along other streets. In 1653, 1685, and 1694, for instance, the statue was placed on the same platform as the monstrance and was processed during the celebration of the *Corpus Christi*, following the route of that very important festivity around the capital (Guijo, 1952: 216; Florencia, 1745 [1685]: 91-95; Robles, 1946: 306). This very unusual practice of adding the image of the Virgin Mary to that of the Consecrated Host—the body of Christ—allows us to understand the significance of this Marian devotion in the life of the city. The statue also used to visit various nunneries and convents for *triduos*, or three days of intense prayer, and thus, paraded through the city in many other occasions carried by the cathedral's chapter. The visiting of nunneries started in the second procession to the city, in 1597, where the statue stayed a couple of days at the convent of Concepción, the first one established in the capital. However, the practice of lending the image for triduos only took root in 1653, when Mexico City female religious communities that were not allowed to leave their convents asked for the opportunity to enjoy the presence of Our Lady of Remedios. Friar Florencia highlighted in his 1685 chronicle the visits to the nunnery of Jesús María and to that of Capuchinas, from which I surmise the miraculous image was carried through the street of Meleros (where honey was sold), which further down the street was called Tlapaleros (tool sellers). The visits to the nunneries continued until the nineteenth century.[43] Earlier in time, the visiting practice extended to include private homes, despite concerns over issues of decorum associated with the miraculous image.[44] Another exception to the traditional route that allowed for a more extended presence of Remedios in the city was the 1721 processions to celebrate the bicentennial of the conquest. On that occasion, as mentioned earlier, the statue of Our Lady of Remedios joined the statue of Saint Hippolytus, also patron of the conquest, to lead the procession around the Cathedral that departed through the western portal onto Empedradillo street (AHDF, Vol. 375a).

During the processions, common people certainly only got a glimpse of the image: Our Lady of Remedios is a tiny statue—barely eleven inches high—and not a processional figure in its own right.[45] The function of the sculpture was deeply transformed as it went from being an image manufactured most likely for domestic devotional practices, to being used in public processions, for which its materiality was not originally considered. Her visual presence was undoubtedly enhanced by the rich garments worn by the statue, the wig made of real hair, and the rich jewelry, described in 1663 as "a gift of dawn" (Ribera, 1663).[46] Years later, on April 9, 1730, the image was dressed specially for the procession with a red dress decorated with pearls and diamonds, two golden crowns also with diamonds (one for her and one for the child), a golden butterfly, earrings of precious stones, a bracelet of two golden threads with pearls, and fifteen diamonds in her hair (AHDF, Vol. 3898). However, what the inhabitants and visitors of Mexico City might have been able to see, regardless if from balconies or from the ground, was the rich platform on which the holy statue was carried above the crowd that accompanied it. The emotional effect of knowing that Our Lady of Remedios was present in the city was complemented by the spectacle of the palio used to cover her. It

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was there, in those "tangible and visible orchestrations of bodies, artifacts and spaces," where the activation of the image as a sacred object actually took place (Thøfner, 2007: 22), and the numinous entered the world of urban polity.

Participants and Beneficiaries

There are very few reports that shed light on how the average observer perceived the statue while it was being carried through the city's streets. Those accounts, despite the use of constant rhetoric formulae, make it possible to reconstruct both the intentionality of the processions in which the social order was so well represented, and the spiritual and material beneficiaries they aimed to include.[47] For instance, it is known that the spatial arrangement followed by the procession's participants was settled in 1616. It was always followed, with threat of conflict arising if for any reason it was altered. The procession in the city's streets began with a group of Indians from the *repúblicas* of San Juan or Santiago throwing flowers to sanctify the space. Then followed the confraternities, both of Indians and Spaniards, each with their banners. In 1616, Cisneros estimated that two hundred people formed this group, but it is unlikely this number was sustained for all the occasions. After this large group, the friars from the different orders joined the procession. At the end of the eighteenth century they were organized in the following order: Bethlehemites, Saint Hippolytus Hospital, Mercedarians, Carmelites, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Dominicans.[48] Behind the regular clergy, the Archbishop and the members of the ecclesiastical chapter—all wearing rich robes—accompanied the image through the city. To stress the importance of the leaders of the Church in these celebrations, Franciscan friar Agustín de Vetancurt called attention to the fact that in the 1642 procession, Archbishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza—then both Archbishop and Viceroy—welcomed the statue at the Santa Veracruz parish church barefoot, as a symbol of humility and respect (Vetancurt, 1961 [1697]: 369). Behind the religious ministers, came the andas where Our Lady of Remedios was on display for the crowd. From the Santa Veracruz parish and all the way to the city, the platform was carried by members of the Cathedral's chapter, and was covered by a lavish palio, handled always by members of the city council and other noblemen (Ribera, 1678). The secular authorities, that is, the *Audiencia* and the Viceroy, came immediately after, followed by officials and members of other instances of viceregal government, like the tribunales of commerce and of accounts (Carrillo, 1678). At the end of the eighteenth century, a small militia was added to escort this group. The crowd of ordinary people (which included mulattos and *castas*, or racially mixed individuals[49]) closed the procession, which was indeed a real "concurso de nobles y muchedumbre del pueblo" as Terán described it in 1653.

Cisneros emphasized that more than 40,000 people filled the streets of Mexico City in 1616, all keeping a devout and strict silence. Although his account might be seen in part as baroque hyperbole—thus, not entirely accurate—it certainly does show how the ideal procession was organized: people from all social strata were able to coexist harmoniously as they pursued the same devotional interest.[50] This had to do with the idea that Our Lady of Remedios was perceived as a loving mother, available to all of Mexico City's inhabitants: as an 1809 petition made clear, having Our Lady of Remedios visiting the city "make happiness appear and all fears vanish."[51] There were at least three occasions on which the processions explicitly aimed to protect the Indians, in times of severe epidemics. That was the case of the first procession that took place at the end of 1576, and of those of 1642 and 1737.[52] It is clear that addressing the indigenous population aimed to include them as new Christians who could also receive the Virgin's protective mantle as much as the Spanish inhabitants.[53] The Indians, however, were never the main participants of the processions. They were asked to create and provide decorations for

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the festivals like the enramadas, to play music, and to wear their sumptuous traditional dresses to add to the magnificence of the pageants, as in many other festive occasions, like the oath to a new King or the entry of a new viceroy (Katzew, 2011),[54] but they did not have a central role. Remedios processions were far from being as politically "indigenized" as were, for instance, the *Corpus Christi* festivities in colonial Cuzco (Dean, 1999). The domain of indigenous devotion was the shrine: the alms collected from indigenous pilgrims who gathered at that sacred site during the August festivals were copious and constant, at least during the eighteenth century (and even after that long stay that lasted from 1741 to 1750), greatly exceeding those obtained in the feast of the Spanish devotees.[55]

Processions were the best opportunities to obtain substantial revenues from people from all social strata within the city, regardless as to whether they were Spanish, creole or castas. The alms collected at Santa Veracruz, the Cathedral—and sometimes even along the processional path—started to grow considerably in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the processions became more frequent, to the point that in 1804 the Remedios brotherhood requested the image to come every year in order not to depend on the alms collected at the sanctuary.[56] The fact that alms were not at all scarce implies that the processions were among the confraternity's main assets. The funds collected during these festivals also argue against the idea that the increasing sojourns of the image to the capital affected the cult's popularity.[57] Another important source of funding for Our Lady of Remedios were the numerous religious memorabilia that were produced to support and encourage it: medals and prints, rosaries and *medidas* (portions of ribbon that replicated Remedios' height). All these products were produced in large numbers and in different materials, being sold for various prices, thus encouraging different social groups to purchase them according to their means.[58] However, processions were not a perfect business for the confraternity, or for the city council for that matter. The expenses were also high and most of the monies collected in the festivals were spent on candles used for the adornment of the cathedral's main altar, where Remedios used to be on display during the *novenarios*.[59]

Conclusion

The physical space of a city is only a part of its geography. There is another aspect that is almost as crucial: the symbolic ways in which that space is used and re-signified within the daily life of its inhabitants. This essay has shown that the processions made in honor of Our Lady of Remedios were key to the construction of colonial Mexico City's symbolic geography as they constantly related to the Spanish origin of the city: the conquest.[60] It was a shared belief that the Virgin Mary protected the Spaniards in their time of greatest trouble, providing the necessary assistance to recover and begin the siege that would finally defeat the great Mexico-Tenochtitlan. As a result, all the people involved in the organization and enjoyment of the processions believed that this miraculous image would help them overcome moments of crisis, both at the personal and public level. In the belief system they shared, the Virgin was seen as a powerful force that could intercede, if asked, on the people's behalf when problems such as the droughts that afflicted all the inhabitants of the city equally arouse. It was in this context that Our Lady of Remedios became the remedy, the cure, and the solution to the natural disasters that affected the city, and she truly became the "well of living waters," one of the names given to the Virgin Mary in the Litany based on the Song of Solomon, 4:15 (Cisneros, 1999 [1621]: 148). She was also the guardian of the fleet and Spanish army. Thus, during the pageants organized in her honor, a combination of interests intertwined. Processions were indeed liminal events in which the earthly needs walked together with those of a

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heavenly nature.

As Cisneros stressed regarding the 1616 procession, Remedios was both the patroness of the city and of its inhabitants: she was protector of the Indians, the Spaniards and the Creoles, guar[illegible] of the city's authorities and of the Crown. Not surprisingly, in the seventeenth-century poems made to celebrate Remedios' *visitas* to Mexico city, appear as an entity that express gratitude for her intercession (Terán, 1653; Ena, 1668; Ribera, 1678).[61] This is why the pageants can be understood as living representations of *policía*, the virtue by which community life was demonstrated through sharing of common interests. As Kagan has indicated, this virtue had an Aristotelian spirit when understood as "the science and mode of governing a city," but also a strong Augustinian and Thomist character that linked it to Christianity: "in the sixteenth century, *policía* broadly understood, implied all of the benefits that accrued from urban life: law, order, morality, and religion" (Kagan, 2000: 28), all of which were symbolically depicted during these events. In that sense, Our Lady of Remedios processions can be understood as a type of social self-portrait in which piety, loyalty, and policy defined the city as a living entity and the locus of virtue.

Notes

[1] Our Lady of Remedios is a small early sixteenth-century statue made for domestic devotion by an anonymous Castilian or Andalusian artist (Ussel, 1975). It depicts the figure of a standing Mary bearing the child Jesus on her left hand; he holds the globe with his left hand while blessing with the right one. Remedios' shape follows aesthetic features common to late Renaissance Spanish statuary created with plain lines on her dress and physiognomy. From my perspective, her most significant feature is that the child is a separate figure from Mary's, which was not all that common a feature in the first decades of the sixteenth century; thus allowing me to consider the possibility that the statue underwent significant material transformations between 1550 and 1570, when the image started to be covered with sumptuous dresses that enhanced its visual appearance. The crescent moon of the base was an addition of the mid seventh century to enhance the character of the statue as representation of the Immaculate Conception; the crescent moon in place today is a twentieth century replica of the old one.

[2] The *Noche Triste* battle was indeed a definitive moment in the conquest, as it was the only occasion when the Spaniards fell to the Mexica. After a night and a day recovering at Totoltepec Hill, where the shrine is located, they were supposedly helped to escape the valley by Indians from Tlaxcala, who later became their main allies and led the final siege of the all powerful Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Officially the city fell to Cortés on August 13, 1521, feast of Saint Hippolyte.

[3] Curcio-Nagy (2004: 8), for instance, says "Flooding occurred almost annually with the onset of the rainy season." I thank John F. López, whose dissertation The Hydrographic City: Mapping Mexico City's Urban Form in Relation to its Aquatic Condition 1521-1700 offers a comparative study of Aztec and Spanish hydraulic practices and their effect upon Mexico City's urban form, for providing me with the following and most up-to-date list of the major floods that took place in New Spain's capital as a consequence of its lacustrine environment: 1552, 1555, 1580, 1604, 1607, 1629-34, 1647, 1691, and 1697.

[4] See especially Christian, 1981, Table 2.1 on p. 29, where disease is shown as the most important "reason for vows," followed by hail and drought in the fourth and fifth place, respectively.

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[5] Schenone, 2008: 350. According to this author, this was Our Lady of Cisne's second miracle. The first miracle attributed to her was stopping the relocation of the Indians of Cisne in the town of San Juan de Chucumbamba, while the third was the recovery of the image after Spaniards from the town of Zaruma had stolen the by then already famous image from the indigenous town.

[6] Impruneta's intercession was called for, as in the case of Remedios, whenever drought became a threat to the city, while *Cisne* still has her visits to Loja scheduled from August 20 to November 3 of each year.

[7] Although the pleas were mainly made to protect the naval forces that were about to arrive in the port of Havana carrying the Crown income from the silver mines as well as the taxes collected in New Spain, prayers were also offered for the safe return of the ships from Spain (which, among other things, brought to the New World azogue (mercury) for the mines and Royal documents), but even for those convoys in commercial treaties with Asia, that is, the famous *Manila Galleon.* For this reason, devotion to Remedios became strong among merchants, who not only paid for Masses at the shrine (Escamilla, 2009), but also gave substantial alms to another image of Remedios venerated in Jalapa city (AHDF, Vol. 3896).

[8] Before 1574 the church where Our Lady of Remedios was on display was allegedly abandoned. Refurbishing it was among the first actions the city council undertook when asking the viceroy to have the patronage over it. According to the chronicle written around 1808 by Juan Antonio Pichardo, the conditions of the *ermita* were not as poor as Cisneros and other chroniclers claimed as Masses were continuously taken place in there (Pichardo, 1808ca). Before the city council was appointed as the shrine's stewards, the devotion was sustained by the indigenous population living at the shrine's surroundings (Miranda, 2001: 44, 55, and 165-166).

[9] Both the Mercedarian friar Luis de Cisneros (1999 [1621]) and the Jesuit priest Francisco de Florencia (1745 [1685]), authors of the two main chronicles on Remedios, portrayed the viceroys of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the main promoters of the processions that took place in those centuries.

[10] In the city council's session of August 8, 1575, the edict of November 1st, 1574, was read, in which the Viceroy Enríquez stated "concedo universal patronazgo de la magestad en las Yndias y sin que en la ciudad, cofradia ni hermita se entrometa ningun arzbispo ni juez eclesiastico *la cual reservo en mi*" (AHDF, Vol. 637a). The 1684 royal decree clearly stated: "Haviendo reservado el Virrey Don Martín Enríquez en la merced que le hizo de esta Hermita y patronato lo superior de él *en las personas de mis virreyes en mi nombre*" (Document R7, O'Gorman Collection, Benson Latin American Collection at UT Austin). The emphasis in both passages is mine.

[11] There were occasions on which the permission was not granted. For instance, the confraternity and members of the city council's discontent was so strong against Viceroy Duque of Linares for not allowing Remedios to return to the shrine that in 1714 they sent a letter to the King and the Pope complaining about the situation, with no favorable results.

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[12] The situation was different regarding the archbishops, who based in the royal patronage the Pope conceded to the crown in the early sixteenth century, were only allowed limited intercession in the cult's observance. There was only one occasion (1670-1684) when the Archbishop tried to overstep the authority of the city council.

[13] For the term *socia beli* as a symbolic partner in wartime derived from the image of the Roman deity of war *Bellona*, see Gómez Rascón, 1996.

[14] This notion of appropriation seems to have grown as an explanation of why in the context of the Independence war, Our Lady of Remedios was believed to be the royal counterpart of the creole Virgin of Our Lady of Guadalupe. As Taylor has pointed out (1999), this confrontation did not take place in popular devotion, where both images were privileged in equal terms, along with many other Marian statues.

[15] As rightly pointed out by Taylor, the first time the image stayed longer than the ten days required by the *novenario* was 1685, after a drought of two years. Florencia (1745 [1685]: 91-93) explained that the image was kept a month and five days because more rain was needed in the countryside. The author justifies the delay, explaining that many other aims were completed while Remedios was in the capital: She offered protection to the fleet on its way to Havana and then to Spain, and to the Spanish ally Genoa in its conflicts with France; she protected the *Nao de China* that safely landed in port of Acapulco, and even shielded the city from an earthquake. Antonio Rubial (2010) has directed attention to the connection that this first extended sojourn might had with the triumph of the city council over Archbishop friar Payo de Ribera referred to in note 12.

[16] In the city council's meeting of December 6, 1706, the viceroy stressed that Remedios' presence in the city was compulsory to show "su amor y fidelidad a el Rey nuestro Señor que Dios guarde le ha obligado a disponer socorro considerable para que logre este alivio en los ingenios en que se halla la monarquia en defensa de la religion y de la monarquia." AHDF, Vol. 373a. For more on Albuquerque's role as New Spain's viceroy, see Escamilla, 2001.

[17] Although the decrees of the synod convoked by Archbishop Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana were never confirmed by the Holy See or by the King, they had an impact at the local level. All nocturnal processions, for instance, were banned, just as much as those that during the Holy Week included severe penitence. The celebrations for *Corpus Christi* were also modified for the sake of decorum and "good social practice" (*Cuarto Concilio*, 2004 [1771]: Tittle XVIII, § 15-17). See Curcio-Nagy, 1994: 20 for more changes suffered in the Corpus Christi festivals.

[18] The confraternity, which was founded in 1575, aimed to help disseminate the cult, but its ordinances were only accepted in 1579 (Miranda, 2001: 64-72). According to its foundational document, the confraternity was to be ruled by four deputies, two secretaries, and a notary, all of whom had to be members of Mexico City's council and could be reelected each year. Although the brotherhood was allegedly open to all who paid a fee (three pesos for couple, two pesos for a single person, one peso for children, and four pesos for those who wished to become members after their death), I have not found any evidence of a large body of brothers in this corporation. The Record Book with all the members' names that the edict of creation clearly stated was required is no longer extant, if there ever was one. The evidence suggests that the confraternity was

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composed only of members of the city council who were elected to their directive posts, sometimes even without their consent. The remaining documents of the confraternity are particularly rich for the eighteenth century, while those for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are scarcer, as most were burned during the Indian revolt of 1692 when the city council was set on fire.

[19] The *Gaceta de México* can be considered the first newspaper printed in New Spain. According to Miguel Ángel Fernández Delgado (2010), it was published for the first time in 1722 with the goal of being a type of memoir of the viceregal court that could set an example for the local population. The *Gaceta's* first editor was the Creole Juan Ignacio María de Castorena Ursúa y Goyeneche (1688-1733), but from 1728 onwards the editor became Juan Francisco Sahagún y Arévalo Ladrón de Guevara (?-1761), who edited 145 issues up to 1739, when the paper required for its publication became scarce. Under his leadership, the *Gacetas* was transformed into a more inclusive newspaper, to the point that the viceroy Juan de Acuña appointed Sahagún as the first official chronicler of Mexico City in 1733. The *Gaceta* underwent a third phase between 1784 and 1810, edited by the also Creole Manuel Antonio Valdés y Munguía (1742-1814), considered by some scholars as the best journalist of the colonial period.

[20] Painter Alonso de Villasana made a series of ten paintings in 1595 illustrating the most crucial scenes of Remedios legend, including the placement of the statue at the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan by Hernán Cortés, her apparition during the so-called battle of the Noche Triste, and this first procession. According to archival documentation, it is likely that the canvases remained hanging on the shrine walls until the end of the eighteenth century, but the complex mural decoration that complemented them with representation of sibyls and prophets, allegorical images of Mary, as well as scenes of her life, was destroyed most probably by 1624, when a major refurbishment of the shrine took place.

[21] For comments on how Eslava was able to draw a truthful chronicle of the pestilence through allegorical language, most employed in theater see Jiménez Corretjer, 2010.

[22] Florencia specifically refers to this procession as the model, while all the surviving confraternity documentation simply called for following the traditional ways of bringing the statue with opulence and decorum.

[23] Thanks to Dr. Ilona Katzew's suggestions, I was able to consult seven descriptions of the processions of Remedios preserved at the John Carter Brown Library. They all are characterized by the use of a colloquial language to enhance the role of Remedios as the city's protector; some are written in four verses stanzas, whereas others prefer the use of *quintillas*. Despite the short number of copies that have survived, one can obtain a sense of the contemporaneous relevance of these poetic records' relevance in their day, because the author of two of them, Ribera, emphasized that he wrote more than nine in total during his lifetime. Moreover, there are a couple of cases in which two authors wrote descriptions for the same year procession. Regrettably, no processional poems survived from the eighteenth century, making it difficult to know how widespread this kind of texts actually was. These poems are so rich that they should be considered alongside the better-known chronicles of festivals (entrance of viceroys and oath to new monarchs) considered by authors like Rodríguez Hernández (1998).

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[24] The golden processional platforms were valued at 250 pesos in the inventory of 1675, AHDF, Vol. 3895, exp. 3. Florencia mentions that for the 1685 procession, new andas were made for 1,000 pesos, a cost that was covered with funds bequeathed to the image by Antonio de Almaráz.

[25] For a discussion of the political and religious symbolism of the *palio* in colonial society, see Cañeque, 2004: 124-128.

[26] Osowski (2010: 1-19) has rightly pointed out that supporting miraculous images like Remedios provided a discursive common ground to Indian communities and Spaniards. Participation of indigenous leaders in Catholic rituals like the Remedios' processions "would prove to be the most important expression of loyalty to the Crown," thus providing them enough merits to obtain privileges.

[27] In 1589 the Franciscans, arguing the shrine was under their jurisdiction, attempted to retain control over it. The conflict grew when an Alonso de Valdés, an alderman, decided to kidnap the image to protect the city's patronage, leaving it in the Cathedral. The dispute ended when Viceroy Luis de Velasco, former city's alderman, was appointed.

[28] The aqueduct was built in two stages, from 1571 to 1573 and from 1617 to 1620, making use of a pre-existing pre-Columbian structure.

[29] The legend of the apparition of Mary throwing dust to "infidels" in the context of other processes of colonization is common, both in Spain and the New World. Perhaps the most important one is that of the Cuzco siege of 1536. There is a seventeenth-century anonymous Peruvian painting housed at the Complejo Museográfico Enrique Udaondo (Luján, Argentina) depicting this event. For more on of this painting, see Alcalá, 1999.

[30] For more on the Santa Veracruz parish church, see http://www.indaabin.gob.mx/gxpsites/hgxpp001.aspx?1,13,72,O,S,0,PAG;CONC;71;8;D;343;1;PAG;MNU;E;2;2;MNU; first accessed on July 14, 2011.

[31] To remember these events, the confraternity ordinances clearly stipulated that the chaplain must deliver Mass every Monday in memory of those Spanish soldiers who perished during the *Noche Triste* (Miranda, 2001: 66).

[32] San Hipólito became the first patron of the conquest after Mexico-Tenochtitlan fell to the Spanish army on the day of his feast, that is, August 13. St. Hippolytus was a martyr, presbyter and antipope who died around 236 (Kirsch, 1910).

[33] José Gómez (1986 [1794]: 114), captain of the renowned halberd unit, mentions in his diary that the statue of Saint James ceased being used during the administration of the Viceroy Juan Vicente de Güemes, second count of Revillagigedo, that is, between 1789 and 1794, but he did not say exactly when or why this sculpture was added to the festivals. This was an important element of the processions because, according to the tradition, Saint James, like Remedios, appeared to the Spaniards during the battle of the *Noche Triste* in 1520. This double apparition was in tune with stories of the reconquest of the Spanish peninsula.

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[34] Oblivion is a rhetorical topic common in the three most important colonial chronicles on Remedios: Cisneros of 1621, Florencia of 1685, and Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez of 1808. Oblivion also appears as the cause of the city's calamities in Ribera, 1663.

[35] Curcio-Nagy, in her study of the major festivals of Mexico City (2004), stressed that the Conquest did not play a relevant role in the history of Remedios during the eighteenth century. Following her interpretation, Antonio Rubial (2010: 413), considered that it was only in 1810 when she regained her role as a protector of the Spanish, which in my view is not accurate.

[36] Thus, "La Generala" was far from being a designation born out of the context of the Independence war, as is popularly believed.

[37] The chrimía is a wooden lingual pipe, similar to the clarinet; it was introduced in the Iberian world by the Arabs. See http://www.inah.gob.mx/index.php/boletines/247-historia/3733-la-chirimia-en-extincion.

[38] In 1706 it was asked "...que el señor corregidor procurador provea auto para que se pregone que los vecinos de las calles por donde pasa la procesión cuelguen y adornen sus ventanas y pertenencias, y que todos los vecinos de dentro y fuera de esta ciudad el martes en la noche pongan luces y luminarias." Much in the same way that it was done from 1616 and would be done until 1810. AHDF, Vols. 373a and 3902, exp. 66.

[39] In 1753 there was a decree in which the Indian governors from San Juan and Santiago Tlatelolco were asked to wear their traditional dress to open the procession. AHDF, 3898, exp. 8.

[40] The Mariscala fountain was built between February 1559 and October 1560 by Claudio de Arciniega, the architect who conceived the original plan for Mexico City's cathedral. The name was supposedly related to the house of the Mariscala de Castilla, who lived in front of the fountain and bridge (Pineda Mendoza, 2000: 67 and 69).

[41] On April 29, 1726, a decree "Manda que los vecinos de las calles de Santa Isabel y San Francisco adornen con toda decencia y hermosura sus casas para el paso de la imagen." AHDF, Vol. 3898.

[42] On September 11, 1774, the proclamation of Remedios' return emphasized not only that the neighbors of the street of Tacuba should decorate their houses, but also banned the selling of any kind of food or sweets along the procession's path. AHDF, Vol. 3898, exp. 8.

[43] In the extended sojourn between 1844 and 1856, for instance, the city chapter authorized visits to fifteen nunneries and convents between July 1849 and August 1850. During the following year Remedios visited seven more churches. It seems that in every journey the ecclesiastical chapter was in charge of transporting the image, regardless as to whether the travels were made directly from convent to convent or if they included stops at the cathedral. AHDF, Vol. 3908, exp. 170, and Vol. 3909, exps. 203 to 224. For the ways in which the statue of Our Lady of Remedios was welcomed at the nunneries, especially at the Encarnación, see Lombardo de Miramón, 1980 [1917]: 111-113).

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[44] In 1797, the visits to particular homes caused the suspicion about the child being replaced. AHDF, Vol. 3902-48.

[45] For images made explicitly for use in processions, see Webster, 1998.

[46] "lo costoso de las joyas/lo singular del vestido/solo lo podrá decir/el Alva que atenta quiso/dar las escogidas perlas/con que fuera guarnecido".

[47] For descriptions of the processions of 1685, see Florencia. For those of 1706-1709, see AHDF. Vol. 373a; for those of 1761, see AHDF, Vol. 3898.

[48] The fourth synod of the Mexican church clearly stipulated that all religious orders needed to participate in all pageants taking place in the city. *Cuarto Concilio*, 2004 [1771]: Tittle XVI, § 16.

[49] For an understanding of the society of *castas* and their visual represention, see Carrera, 2003; and Katzew, 2004.

[50] Cisneros emphasized that in the 1576 procession, all monastic orders participated, mingling with the priests, which was even more relevant at a moment when the division between friars and ecclesiastical members was at its peak.

[51] Acknowledging the beneficial effects of the visits, the brotherhood sent a letter to the *ayuntamiento* on June 2, 1809 asking for its support in obtaining royal authorization to bring the statue to the city every year: "... en el momento que se piensa y determina la rogación y que se traslada la Santa Ymagen de su Santuario a esta Metrópoli, varia la estación, mejoran los Aires y se presenta la felicidad desapareciendo los temores...tenga a bien promover y solicitar del rey Nuestro Señor, la gracia de que se permita y establezca que todos los años se traiga precisamente a esta Capital a Nuestra Madre Santísima de los Remedios con las solemnidades acostumbradas para que se celebre el Novenario con que se le tributan sus cultos." AHDF, 3902, exp. 66.

[52] The year 1737 has been considered the pinnacle of the cult to Our Lady of Guadalupe after she was named patroness of Mexico City. It is worth noting that Remedios was on display at the cathedral's main altar during the ceremonies that exalted Guadalupe so massively. See among others, Cabrera y Quintero, 1981 [1746], and Brading, 2001.

[53] An important part of Villasana's 1595 mural decoration at the shrine's walls made in 1595 (mentioned in note 20) included an explicit welcoming of Indians into the Christian fold: the Virgin Mary was depicted while giving a Caduceus to an Indian underneath an inscription that read: "Now, therefore, you are no more strangers and foreigners: but you are fellow citizens with the Saints and the domestics of God (Ephesians 2:19)."

[54] For more in the participation of indigenous people in religious festivities, and their construction of arches in *Corpus Christi*, see Osowski, 2010: 132-190.

[55] The feast of the confraternity for Spaniards always took place the Sunday after the Assumption of Mary (August 15), while the one specifically for the Indians was celebrated the following Sunday. In this festival Indians from various towns of the Basin of Mexico, most of which were of Otomí descent, gathered at the shrine. A third

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festival was officially added in the late seventeenth century, but it only became a common practice a century later. This *fiesta de tabla* took place on September 1, and became the main festival of Our Lady of Remedios.

[56] AHDF, Vol. 3901. This petition certainly did not echo Cisneros' petition of keeping the statue in its shrine in order to protect its sanctity, Cisneros, 1999 [1621]: 195.

[57] AHDF, Vol. 3902, exp. 51. The complaint was signed in 1803 by Marquen, a *regidor* or alderman, but did not have any repercussion.

[58] There were four different kinds of medals: those made of gold were sold for 16 pesos, silver ones were sold for only 1 real, and those of brass for only a single tomín. Prints also differed in price, depending on the size and the quality of the paper used. AHDF, Vol. 3895. According to Taylor (2010: 261, n51) "The two *novena* periods in 1794 yielded 2,939 pesos and 1,813 pesos respectively from alms and the sale of medals, *medidas* and prints".

[59] During the longest sojourn of the eighteenth century, the alms obtained totaled 1,749 pesos, but the expenses were 860 pesos with a profit of 716 pesos in almost ten years. This amount was the money collected among the indigenous pilgrims during the festivity at the shrine. AHDF, Vo. 3912, exp. 288. In 1771 something similar happened: from the 1450 pesos obtained in alms—donated by the viceroy, the *tribunal de cuentas*, the city authorities, the university, the consulate and the ecclesiastical chapter—only 215 pesos remained after deducting expenses.

[60] For more on the representation of conquest in the arts, see among others Cuadriello, 1999; Katzew, 2011; and Tarraciano, 2011.

[61] Terán, accounting the day of copious rain that fell when Remedios was returning to the shrine, said: *No paso su devoción/Ni embarcación su afecto/Lo continuo de las aguas/Ni del lodo lo molesto./Llegaron a santa Clara/Y algún religioso reugo/Oyo MARIA pagando /Con la visita a su zelo/***como México ese día/el favor agradeciendo/se mostró dando en retorno/humilde agradecimiento**/*No paso su devoción /Ni embarcación su afecto/Lo continuo de las aguas/Ni del lodo lo molesto. Ena in his 1668 poem declared: Pues al ir ya declinando /lluvia de las nubes impia/REMEDIOS iban buscando/.../Cerrado el cielo y desierto/de nubes sañudamente/ antes se mostro por cierto/y oy vemos el cielo abierto/luego es milagro patente/.../De serenidad tan fresca* /**gloria a MARIA se intime/y que todo no perezca/este reyno se lo estime/y Mexico lo agradezca**. Ribera, after describing how the city council functioned as the Atlas that supported the holy statue, mentioned that: **La mexicana Ciudad/Preciada de agradecida/Motivaba generosa/Al impulso que la anima** (The emphasis in all three poems is mine, but not the use of capital letters).

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APPENDIX – Table 1. Comparison of Processions of Our Lady of Remedios: Dates and Motives According to Different Authors

Year	Cisneros 1621	Guijo 1648-1664	Medina 1682	Florencia 1685	Vetancurt 1697	Robles 1665-1703	*Gaceta* 1722-1749	Cabrera 1737	Carrillo 1804	García 1940	Gibson, 1964	Curcio-Nagy 1996	Granados 2012	Granados' sources
1576						ø			ø				ø	637a
1577	ø	*	*	ø	ø			ø		ø		ø		637a
1597	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	* ø ∫	*	*	
1616	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	* ø ∫	*	* ∫	652a
1618									*			*	at sh	652a
1638												*		662a
1639				≈				≈	*		* ∫ ≈	*		663a
1641		*	*	*	*		*	* ø	*		* ø ∫	*	*	664a
1642		*	*	ø Δ	*		*	?	*	*	* ø ∫ Δ	ø	n atSh* ø Δ	3902, 664a
1653	* ø	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	* ø	*	*	Teran's poem
1656	≈	* *	≈	*, ≈	*		**	≈	*		≈, ≈	≈	≈	Guijo
1661	* (8a)	*	*	*	*		*	*	*		*	*	*	Guijo
1663	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*		* ø	*	*	Ribera's poem
1667		*	*		*			ø	*		* ø	*	*	Robles
1668		*	*	*	*		*	ø	*		* ø	*	*	Ena's poem
1678		*	*	*	*		*	*	*		* ø	*	*	Carrillo's poem
1685			* ≈ Δ				*		*	*	* ∫	*	* ≈ Δ |	Muñoz' poem
1686								*						
1692				*	*	*	*	*	*		∫	*	* ∫ |	3903, Robles
1695													r	
1696					*	≈	*	≈	*		≈	≈	≈ |	Robles
1699												ø ≈		
1702				≈	*	*	*	*	*			* ø	* ≈	372a
1704												*	at sh *	372a
1705												*	at sh*	372a
1706						*	*	*	*			Σ	Σ Δ |	373a
1708												Σ	n arC	373a
1710												?	r	373a
1711												*	at sh *	373a
1712						*	*	*	*			Σ		373a
1713						*	*	*	*			*	≈ |	374a, 3896, 3897
1714													r	3896, 3897, 374a
1715													n at sh ≈	3897, 374a
1716												≈	≈ |	3897, 374a

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Table 1. Comparison of Processions of Our Lady of Remedios: Dates and Motives According to Different Authors

Year	Cisneros 1621	Guijo 1648-1664	Medina 1682	Florencia 1685	Vetancurt 1697	Robles 1665-1703	*Gacetas* 1722-1749	Cabrera 1737	Carrillo 1804	García 1940	Gibson, 1964	Curcio-Nagy 1996	Granados 2012	Granados' sources
1717							*	*	*			* and ∑	rJan, vMay	3897, 374a
1719							*	*	*			∑	rJan,vOct|	3897, 374a
1720													nov C ∑	3897
1721													nBIC atC	375a, 3897
1722													n ≈, r	375a
1723													*|	3897
1724													r	3897
1726							*	*	*				≈	3896, 3897
1727													n at sh ≈	3897
1730							*	*	*				≈	3897
1732												≈		
1733							*	*	*				*|	3898, 59a
1734												≈		
1735												*	n at sh *	3898
1737							*	ø	*				ø |	3897
1738									*				r	3898
1740									*					
1741									*			*	*| n≈	3897, 3899
1742									*				n atC ≈	3899
1744													2 n atC ≈	3899
1746													n at C≈	3899
1749									*				n at C *	3899
1750									*				nCΔ, rJan, vJun*	3896, 3899, 3900, 75a
1751													r	76a
1753									*				* ø	3899, 78a
1755														
1758									*				*	81a
1761									*			≈	*	82a
1762									*			Δ	*|	83a
1763													r	
1765									*					85a
1766									*			≈	*	86a
1767													* ∫	3898, 87a

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Table 1. Comparison of Processions of Our Lady of Remedios: Dates and Motives According to Different Authors

Year	Cisneros 1621	Guijo 1648-1664	Medina 1682	Florencia 1685	Vetancurt 1697	Robles 1665-1703	*Gaceta* 1722-1749	Cabrera 1737	Carrillo 1804	García 1940	Gibson, 1964	Curcio-Nagy 1996	Granados 2012	Granados' sources
1768								*	*					88a
1769								*	*				*	89a
1770								*	*					90a
1771								*	*				*	3913, 91a
1772								*	*				*	92a
1773								*	*					93a
1775								*	*					95a
1776								*	*					96a
1778								*	*					98a
1779								*	*	*				99a
1780								*	*					100a
1784								*	*			ø	*	104a
1785								*	*			*	*	105a
1786								*	*			ø	*	106a
1787								*	*				*	107a
1790								*	*			*	*	110a, 3895
1793								*	*			Δ	Δ	113a
1794								**	*			1*, 2Σ	1*, 2 Δ	3900, 3895, 3915
1796								*	*					116a
1797								*	*			*	*	117a, 3902
1798								*	*				*	3900, 118a
1799								*	*			* ø	*	3900, 119a, 3895
1800								*	*			1*, 2√	√ *	120a, 3895
1801								*	*				*	3900, 121a
1802								**				1Σ, 2*	1Σ, 2*	3915
1804								*				1ø, 2*	1*, 2ø	124a
1808													*	3916
1809												Δ	Δ	3916
1810												√	*|13y	3902
Totales	3	12	13	15	6	26	26	67	67	67, ca only 9 mentioned in detail		51	57	

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Key to Table 1:

* drought	ø epidemic	∫ famine	≈ fleet	Δ war	Σ monarchy	√ general happiness	| extended sojourn
BIC **bicentenary**	**Sh** at shrine	**C** cathedral		**n** novena		**V** Venida	**r** return

In my sources, four digits refer to the relevant AHDF volume; three digits followed by an "a" refer to the City Council's accounts, also at AHDF.

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